3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

342 ground, being raised about a foot, is beaten
352 down hard, and covered with leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, dried grass, or leaves of the ifi tree: over this is laid a bleached matting, made of the young leaves of the cocoa-nut tree.
342 The house consists, as it were, but of one
353 apartment, but which is subdivided occasionally by screens about six or eight feet high. In case of rain, or at night, if the weather is cool, they let down a sort of blind, which is attached to the eaves of the open sides of the house: these blinds are made of long mats, about six inches in width, one above another, and rather overlapping, and are so contrived as to draw up by means of strings, like our Venetian blinds, and are then concealed just within the eaves. The common houses have not these blinds, but, in place of them, a few mats hung up as occasion may require.

304 Ta tattów, striking the tattow. This
305 operation has already been described in the last
643 chapter, and nothing farther is here to be said,
648 except that Tooitonga is never tattowed at the Tonga islands; for it is not considered respectful to put so high a chief to so much pain, and if, therefore, he wishes to undergo this operation, he must visit Hamoa, (the Navigator's islands), for that purpose.

322 Tongi aco'w, club carving or engraving.
531

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
OU9 Tonga OU9

have been transplanted, in order to give them a finer and softer texture. 285 [291]

Gie, stronger mats made of the bark of the *fow* or *olongá*, worn chiefly by people in canoes to keep out the wet, as the water does not damage them: they appear as if they were made of horse-hair. Labillardiere mentions that he saw a woman of rank with a sort of mat made of the white hair of a horse's tail. He supposed that it must have been procured from some horses that Cook had left there. 285 237 [292] [177]

Fálla, mats to sleep on, made of the leaves of the *paoongo*. These are double, and are of various sizes, from six feet by three, to seventy or eighty feet by six; to lie along the whole length of the house. 285 513

La, mats for sails, made of the leaves of the *fa*; they are very strong and light. 285 [501]

Tacapow, mats for flooring houses, made of the young leaves of the cocoa-nut tree. [352]

Tattów, a sort of matting, plaited in a very ornamental way, made of young cocoa-nut leaves: they are used to screen the sides of houses from the weather. [353]

Cato, baskets: these are of various constructions; sometimes of a sort of matting made with the leaves of the *fa*, *paoongo*, *lo acow*, &c.; at other times of the fibrous root of the cocoa-nut tree interwoven with plait made of the husk [415] [531]

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

memory, and he glanced at Tukuaho in a very peculiar way.

Soon after this Tukuaho was relieved of his command, and made mayor of his father's town, Mua, some twelve miles from the capital. He had occasion to see the Premier upon matters connected with his duties. The great man was busily writing in his office. After waiting many minutes Tukuaho rose to go, saying that he saw the Premier was engaged. "Sit where you are," replied Mr Baker, "until I am ready,"—and he wrote on as if the safety of the nation depended on his pen. At last he stopped writing, and swung round in his chair. Tukuaho had heard from others of this mode of inspiring awe, and was in nowise disconcerted; he returned the First Minister's fixed gaze. "We are alone: tell me what cause for ill-will you have against me." Tukuaho raised his eyebrows with a mild surprise, and intimated that he did not understand the question, but had come to ask when he was to distribute tax-allotments in Mua. "You know well enough what I mean. Why did you betray me?" said the Premier, coming to the point. "I have much love for you," answered Tukuaho, "and I want you to tell me about Fifita's allotment." From that day Tukuaho was a marked man, but one to be conciliated rather than threatened.

I found him in his new house still unfinished. A *ngatu* screen was suspended across the room, behind which a mosquito-net was visible. A lamp stood upon a trade box, and the corner of the room was piled high with official-looking papers and torn envelopes in hopeless confusion. I made a mental note of an admonition to be

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
OU9 Tonga OU9

time to examine the three great rooms that formed our quarters. There was a depressing air of decayed grandeur about the worm-eaten furniture and weather-stained floor. A large room at the end became our pantry, and through the reed screen that divided it from the rest of the house came the incessant chatter of a Princess and two ladies from the jail who had been told off to attend to our wants. When not engaged in the menial service of washing dishes, they were drinking kava and retailing the local scandal in an atmosphere reeking with the fumes of *sulukas*. Lest I should seem to boast of my single experience of eating from the hand of a Princess of the Blood Royal, I hasten to add that Charlotte, the lady in question, was a member of Fatafehi's household, and since we were his guests, it was in accordance with native etiquette that she should take charge of the culinary department. She discharged her task admirably, and rang the changes on fried chicken, fried sucking-pig, with baked cocoa-nuts and raw fish[1] for dessert, in the most practised manner.

After luncheon Tukuaho became gloomy. Not a soul had come to greet him, and he was not accustomed to unpopularity. During his last visit, he said, his arm had been tired with shaking hands, and his digestion upset with the quantity of kava he had been obliged to drink with his admirers; but now he saw all his old friends pass the door without looking in. Fat Peter's appearance

[1] Raw fish is described by Mariner as a delicacy, and it was provided at my special request. It is cut up into lozenge-shaped pieces, and washed in salt water. When I had overcome the natural repugnance of the idea, I found it rather good. There is no valid reason why raw fish should be nastier than raw oysters, which it much resembles in taste.

15: Thomson G-3 (1886-1900) 1902
OU9 Tonga OU9

band played our national anthem very creditably as we approached. While the rank and file numbered about thirty, as in my time, I noticed that the roll of officers had increased until they formed a third line nearly as close as that of the men: their uniforms were so spotless and correct that some of my companions mistook them for Europeans. We were ushered into the throne-room, where two rows of chairs were drawn up facing one another, each with a be-crowned armchair in the centre. On these, after the first greetings, we took our seats. I knew the room well, and it called up many memories, for here old King George had often received me informally, and all the state functions and receptions of foreign officials, which the old king disliked so heartily and underwent so cheerfully, had taken place. At an earlier date, when Mr. Baker had sought protection in the palace with his family, it had been Mrs. Baker's parlour, and from that epoch dated the fairy lights, wax flowers, and other incongruities. The faces of the king's suite were all familiar, for they had been my own colleagues when I was a Tongan like themselves. There was Fatafehi in his sober suit of black; Kubu, now swelled to the dignity of a sovereign's father-in-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

342 sorry resistance to strong winds or heavy rains.
[824] On the other hand, there is capital ventilation; and
[354] perhaps that is of greater importance in such a hot climate, than even freedom from the more occasional annoyances attendant upon stormy weather. To compensate for the lowness of the walls, the roof of a Tonguese house is carried to a considerable height. The rafters are closely set, and are
[824] generally made of the outer wood of the cocoa-nut tree, or of the bread-fruit tree, the latter of which has much the appearance of cedar wood, and has a very pleasing and beautiful effect when nicely finished. The large beams, to which the rafters are
[335] attached, are laid along the grooved tops of high and durable posts, which reach about half way up the entire height of roof. The inner ridge pole is
[353] usually ornamented by a profusion of sinnet wrappings of varied colours and geometrically interlaced. The roof itself is covered with a thick thatch,
[824] made from the leaves of the sugar-cane or of the bamboo, and is perfectly water-tight. A well-built house will last a good many years; but the thatching requires to be renewed, under the most favourable circumstances, about once in five years. The
[352] floor is laid with a profusion of dried leaves, which
[824] are in turn covered over with numbers of mats made from the cocoa-nut leaf, upon which again the finer sitting and sleeping mats are placed. No provision is made in the interior of either native or European house for cooking conveniences. A
[354] separate building contains the kitchen requisites, and the heat of the climate renders a fire-place in the dwelling house unnecessary. What is wanting in the architectural beauty of these houses is amply remedied by the loveliness of the natural bowers,

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972) 1974 Oi9 Tonga Oi9

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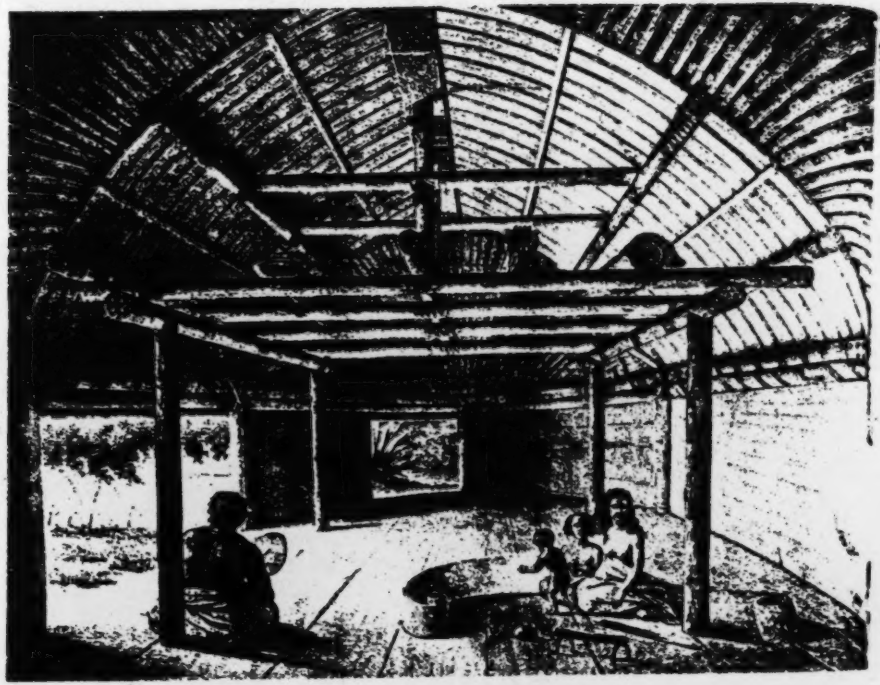

A traditional oval-shaped Tongan house, featuring a neatly constructed interior and artistically lashed beams, is depicted in this engraving (1826) of a house in Mu'a belonging to the wives of the chief Palu.

Kuo lahi foki eni e langa fale papalangi, ka 'i he taimi ko e na'e ngaue'aki pe e ngashi fale hanga ko ia 'oku ha 'i he ta fakatata ko eni na'e fai 'i he 1826. Ko e fale eni na'e nofo ai e kau fefine 'a e 'eiki mei Mu'a ko Palu.

121 readapted rather than transformed."[25] The point is re-emphasised by Franklin who views peasant society as a "residual system" within a larger capitalist economy and points to the resilience of the peasantry.[26] Gundar Frank introduces a new dimension which, if accepted, points to a prolonged existence for peasant societies and systems. He suggests that underdevelopment in some countries is the obverse of development in others, both being part of a "single process of capitalist development".[27] The modern commentator often finds difficulty in accepting that non-western societies may not choose western forms in the final working out of their urban and rural futures but, if we accept Frank's views, the peasantry appear to have an assured future in underdeveloped countries. Franklin's observation that the peasantry shows remarkable resilience in adverse conditions typical of underdeveloped countries seems to support this. Both writers would appear to agree that the increased penetration of capitalism does not necessarily eliminate peasant systems of production—or, presumably, peasant-like attitudes within the broader
128 society. At this point it would therefore seem appropriate to
511 consider those reasonably well-off families living in Nuku'alofa
184 (those living in "large wooden" houses (see Table VI)) whose paid employment makes them independent of a supplementary income from agriculture and who, for purely economic reasons, would do better by opting out of kin obligations.

369 How far have these urbanised and often superficially
184 westernised families rejected activities common to others in the town? They are by definition less involved in the peasant economic system but they remain very much a part of the traditional society. All attitudes to important events in the life cycle, such as birth, the celebration of the first birthday, circumcision, courtship, marriage and death, are retained. Their attitudes towards the organisation of society, the hierarchy of king, nobles, church, family and authority generally, are also retained. The physical organisation of their
[353] houses is the same in spite of a greater abundance of western articles
[352] and furniture. It is not uncommon, for example, for beds to be used for the storage of special mats while the people sleep on the floor. In one case the adults slept on mats in a traditional fale leaving the comforts of their modern house for the convenience of others.
[356] Sleeping, eating, cooking and washing units are kept apart, kava remains an important ceremonial and social drink, the stone umu is still used, tapa and mats remain symbols of wealth and prestige and the wearing of the ta'ovala and kiekie remain as signs of the well dressed. Participation in the kautaha koko'anga is less evident but these families are keen recipients of "gifts" made by such activities. They are actively involved in the fale hiva which, in this respect, is a rallying point for established and status conscious families. The closer these people become to the apex of society, the more committed

[173 cont.]

342 175 eight or nine feet; but the walls, which were not perpendicular, but converged towards the bottom, were not above three or four feet from the ground, and very neatly made of reeds. The roof converged into a ridge at the top; so that the section of the house resembled a pentagon. It was thatched, and the roof projected beyond the sloping walls of the house. In one of the long sides there was always an opening about two feet square, and eighteen inches from the ground, which served instead of a door. The length of the house never exceeded thirty feet, and the breadth was [174] commonly eight or nine. The 333 262 175 inside of these houses was always filled with large roots of yams, which seem to be the chief support of the natives. To sleep upon 319 175 them must be extremely uncomfortable; and yet a few mats are only spread over them at night, which custom has made acceptable to these [352] people. Those narrow little stools, on which the Taheitians rest the head, are extremely frequent here, and serve the same purpose. We also 342 175 observed several open sheds, on a few posts, like some which we had seen at Tonga-Tabboo. These were laid out with mats, and seemed to be 609 175 intended for their abode in the day-time. In our ramble we passed by a number of these habitations, but saw very few inhabitants, they being mostly at the trading place. Those whom we met were always very civil, and bowed their heads, saying, lelei (good), woi (friend), or some such word, to mark their good temper and disposition. They were our conductors; they brought us flowers from the highest trees, and birds out of the water; they often pointed out the finest plants to us, and taught us their names; we needed only to show them a plant of which we wished to have specimens, and they would go to any distance to procure it. [431] Coco-nuts and shaddocks they readily offered to us; and willingly carried

/145 cont./

177 the floor (which consists of coconut-leaf mats [takapau] placed over
352 the sand or dried leaves, or of boards [see above]) is more or less covered with seat mats (papa = coarse mats of pandanus leaves, lou paonga) (377)

377. Size approximately 2.60 x 0.75 meters; construction see page 305-307.

upon which the finer floor mats and sleep mats of the lo taha type are
353 sometimes spread. In some houses the roof construction is covered over
352 with tapa. Along the walls stand a few crates, boxes or chests,
177 baskets, also traveling bags and often a small food cupboard (with
415 screening). In front of, or on top of, these containers, in which are kept clothing, utensils and smaller supplies of various kinds, lies the bedding (mats, bast-fiber covers [sheets], pillows) of several
352 house occupants, which is rolled up during the day. On a small table
354 there are often a glass kerosene lamp, a few glass bottles with Tongan
415 oil, a mirror, etc. The bed of the master of the house (married couple)
177 is usually partitioned off with a tapa or cotton curtain [sometimes
352 also with a board wall). (378)
353
177

378. In houses with an ancient Tonga ground plan it /the bed/ is usually located in one of the rounded ends.

Here there are more containers and mat beds or a European-type bed.
353 Many Tongan interiors are decorated with strips of colored crepe
177 paper, photographs, magazine and newspaper pictures.--Such furnishing are today typical for houses with ancient Tongan ground plan, as well as for most of the European-type constructions.

352 A complete Tongan bed consists today of a simple sleep mat of
285 the lo taha type, another placed over it of the fala tofua type and
513 a sleep mat of the fala paongo type spread over this. (379)

(824)

379. The mats are made from leaves of various pandanus species; their size varies from

531 /147 cont./

285 387. Except for the small coconut-leaf baskets generally used but once.

and ornamented with the natural-colored brown and traditionally black-dyed (388)

[386] 388. By burying in mud for two or three days and boiling with manaui leaves.

pandanus-leaf strips; (389)

389. For their construction see p. 313 ff.

some plaited bags are also decorated with pandanus-leaf strips dyed with bright-colored European dyes. Undoubtedly the baskets now being 285 178 plaited in Tonga are an ancient cultural heritage. (390)

390. In principle they resemble, for example, the ancient Tongan basket No. Oz. 121 in the Ethnological Institute, Gottingen.

However, they are probably more crudely worked than in the past.-- 415 The essential containers for storing clothing and smaller things used in the household, the tools, etc., are today simply old corned-beef cases, specially made wooden boxes and metal-trimmed chests. In [177] addition, a few households have European cardboard suitcases in more or less good condition. Closets are scarcely to be seen in Tongan houses, 353 except for small food cupboards (with screening) for storing dishes and smaller supplies, with which over half of all households are pro- 352 vided. Wooden shelves today likewise serve to accomodate various little 177 things, as do tables. The latter have been introduced in many houses, though they have lost their European function, since they are used mostly as places to put lamps, bottles, mirrors etc. Very few households have European /straight/ chairs, benches, club chairs etc., and even in the houses that have tables and chairs, people generally sit on the floor beside them and also take their meals there--as in old times. However, [556] the owner is very proud of such European furniture; for him it is the [574] symbol of respected Europeanism and at the same time proof of his

416 /148 cont./ Almost all Tongan households also have smaller or larger mirrors, and
805 in some houses one even sees alarm clocks and vases with paper
353 flowers as a special adornment. The crepe-paper strips in garish
353 colors probably also became common as ornaments in dwellings (they often hang on the posts and suspended from the beams, because they are something special on the islands which are rather monotonous in color, just as the newspaper clippings and magazine illustrations on the posts and crossbeams are coveted because of their "curiosity-value." Various dwellings display, as decoration, more or less faded photographs of family members taken on the main islands. One very rarely finds
207 radios in Tongan houses; the reason may be less because of the difficulty of obtaining sets, but rather the inconvenience of providing them with dry cell batteries or accumulators. However, as a result of
404 the adoption of European textiles, sewing machines have become widely
177 used. One often sees the small hand-crank machines which are so practical for the Tongan way of sitting; but one also comes across treadle sewing machines, older ones as well as recent cabinet type
296 machines. For laundering textiles probably all households today are provided with zinc tubs and washboards, and in many households one
411 sees heavy flat irons heated with coconut shells. The weapons (clubs
178 and spears) which in the old sources are counted among the "household
179 equipment" have long since disappeared; only occasionally one sees
415 an old European shotgun. In the cook huts, now and then in the
177 dwellings, one still finds some of the traditional wooden bowls and basins which are being more and more replaced by the easily obtainable enamel basins, aluminum bowls and zinc tubs, just as the /149/ clay pots formerly imported from Fiji (393)

393. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 284.

or made in Tonga (?) (394)

394. W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/ p. 117 ff.

292 /216 cont./
239 natural state, are today occasionally dyed with European dyes (for
177 example, crimson) for ornamental arrangements.
386

kie-kie lopa:

292 The kie-kie lopa is worn by women and girls (more seldom by men)
[535] as a ta'o-vala; they also like to wear it at dances (laka-laka,
[353] tau'olunga, kailao, hula, ula, ma'ulu'ulu) and often use it to decorate
their dwellings. This may be an ancient cultural heritage. It is
[462] made by women and girls and consists of a plaited cord of bast
[283] (Hibiscus tiliaceus) on which bast fibers are knotted; upon these they
[824] string red lopa seeds (Adenanthera pavonina?). Today the bast fibers
[386] of the kie-kie lopa are also sometimes dyed with European dyes.
[177]

Perhaps the principle of these ornamental belts is an ancient
Tongan cultural heritage. With much love and zeal they are individually
[283] knotted today by women and girls. European dyes are an essential
[386] feature of all of them except mana fau.
[177]

287 The bast cloth (tapa) (567)
177
[196]

567. Tapa is actually an incorrect designation, though long since established even for the dyed and figured bark cloth (more correctly: bast cloth); in the Tongan language only the non-dyed edge of the bast cloth is called tapa, whereas the dyed (figured) bast cloth is called ngatu.

is still made in the Tonga Archipelago on a large scale, even though the process is very tedious and in part /217/ entails hard work, and European textiles are relatively easily obtainable for the inhabitants of all the islands.

287 As clothing, however, tapa is used only on certain special
292 occasions; (568)
784

568. See p. 66 ff.

198 since the old belief in taboos has been lost, strips of bast cloth are

287 /217 cont./
292 also no longer used as a sign of taboo. (569)
[784]
[178]

569. Still mentioned, for example, in Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 233.

[513] But at any rate the Tongans use tapa today, as in the past, largely as a sleeping pad (on the mats) and also especially as bed covers. At festive and solemn occasions, especially at a wedding and a burial, [752] bast cloth plays an important role, rooted in tradition. For dances the natives still like to wear tapa clothing; and finally, as in old times, strips of white bast cloth are used as bandages for wounds.
287 Apparently recent is the widespread use of tapa as a curtain inside
353 the dwelling where it partitions off parts of rooms, replacing the
178 movable interior walls (standing mats) formerly used for this purpose.

Today, in Tonga, tapa is made in the following way:

248 The paper mulberry tree (Broussonetia papyrifera) is planted specifically for making bast cloth. Men (sometimes also women) plant saplings on land that has been cleared of weeds (also in an old harvested yam field). While it is growing, the women remove the weeds that shoot up and break off the sprouting twigs from the saplings, so that the latter will grow quite tall. When the little paper mulberry trees (hiapo) have become tall enough, that is, after one or two years, the women (sometimes also the men) cut the small trunks with a machete or an axe.

287 They take the small trunks to the village and keep them in the house for three to six days so that the bark loses its stickiness. Then, with their teeth, the women notch the layer of bark at the lower end of the little tree about five centimeters lengthwise, and, with their hands, vigorously pull off the entire layer around the trunk in a single strip. On the inner side of this layer of bark is the bast needed for tapa-making. This they remove from the bark by separating it from the lower end with a machete (or a kitchen knife) and pulling

/219 cont./

287 usually does herself with a wooden rod and blackish-brown color (a
[384] mixture of koka-color and the soot of burned Aleurites).
[531]

The tapa lengths are folded and rolled into balls and kept in the dwelling of the owner who, in the course of time, cuts off pieces as needed.

287 There are three types of tapa, according to the methods of dyeing:
531
[386]

1. ngatu tahina:

This most important, because universally used, tapa is dyed a solid brown with the exception of the border and certain parts of the decoration. The patterns are brought out with dark brown or blackish-
[212] brown lines. They represent, for example, the /220/ adornment of chieftains, striking or historically noteworthy landscape motifs, symbols of the modern Tongan state (star, crown, dove, swords), parts of ancient Tongan chieftains' houses, as well as the new palace of the king and desirable European objects such as the bicycle and gramaphone, and some also have inscriptions (block letters) which explain the meaning of individual decorations (for example, KOE SISI O TAUFAAHAU = this is the ornamental belt (sisi) of the Taufa'ahua; KOE KALAUNI = this is the crown; KOE PASIKALA = this is a bicycle; KALAMIFONI = gramaphone).

287 The ngatu tahina is used as a bed cover (also bed pad) for men
[513] women and children, to partition rooms and as ceiling covers in the
[353] house, as wedding clothes, to lay a corpse to rest, as a gift, and
[342] as a dance dress; in each case sufficiently large pieces are cut
[292] from the roll.
[764]
[431]

2. ngatu tapa'i ngatu:

287 Tapa of this kind has patterns outlined in dark brown (blackish-
531 brown) on a surface that has been left more or less white. Their
[212] patterns are also symbols of ancient and modern Tonga (for example,

/220 cont./

287
531
212
a certain flower ornament

Pattern on a ngato tapa 'i ngatu: a spitfire fighter plane (Expedition Collection, No. 27)

of a chief, parts of ancient Tongan buildings and houses of chiefs, striking landscapes, the queen's fan, the flag of Tonga, a spitfire fighter plane that the Tongans gave England in the second World War, and a nautical mark in the harbor of Neiafu), and some of them are explained by block-letter inscriptions.

287
[513]
[353]
[342]
431
[292]
[764]
Bast cloth of this kind is used especially as bed covers, to divide up and decorate rooms in the dwelling as well as to cover the ceiling of these, and as gifts; it is also used occasionally as a wedding and a dance dress and to cover a corpse.

3. ngatu 'uli:

287
531
[386]
This type of tapa is dark brown to blackish-brown (brown koka color and blackish koka and Aleurites soot). It is decorated with print panels (chiefly with the "manulua" pattern, namely, cruciform triangular patterns), or /221/ else patterns are dispensed with and the lines of the coconut fiber cords that were previously wrapped around the "drum" stand out as the pattern on the entire blackish surface.

287
[513]
431
[764]
This tapa is used chiefly as bed pad (on the top mat), as a wedding gift and as a cover on which to lay a corpse.